Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and its arrival an event of great joy in his household. 45

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of footgear is worn in the area, including European boots, shoes, and woman's sandals, and several local types of slippers. Some village men wear a single moccasin of raw-hide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers and wooden clogs (kabkab) are produced for women. One shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the upper classes, government personnel and local population, affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are, suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops and shorthouses with their wooden polish-horse, looking for customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter. 294 291 473 [439] 296 [521]

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or 443

tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days preceding the celebration in their preparation, something which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing on Easter. 294 955 796

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women belonging to the poorer households find casual employment as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling contains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (no domestic soap is made) is used, or water alone. Such laundering involves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank, and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show signs of wear. In one's experience, a handerchief, which had withstood perhaps two years of cleansing in the United States, rapidly deteriorated after two trips to the laundress in Rowanduz, and it was similar with other items of apparels Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one 296 [352] [415] [388]

of which he did not use and the other confided to a tailor to press and "clean." The rapid shrinkage of the pair in use soon revealed the technique of the tailor's wife, scrubbing them with the other clothes. Pressing is little required by the townspeople, and the tailors, with their fire-heated irons, carry out this task. 296 ●

There are three barbers with shops in the bazar, and one of them, Hajji Mustafa, darwish and town extrovert, will require later attention. The barber's shop is typically a booth, equipped with a few benches like those of the chaykhanas for clients in waiting and a plain wooden chair on which the customer is shaved or tonsured. That of Hajji Mustafa is gaudily decorated with a portrait of the founder of his order, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, photographs of actresses selected from Egyptian periodicals, and some other scraps of paper and notices. In addition, Hajji Mustafa's shop boasts a wooden board on which someone has painted "Modern Barber Shop" in Arabic, of interest not only because the "Modern" is a town joke, but because it is one of the few establishments in the bazar graced with a sign. The barber's tools, stored in a metal case, include hand-clippers, scissors, combs, a straight razor, some bits of soap, a mirror, and a bottle of cologne, all obtained through the general merchants. Often the barber is called to the home of a wealthier client, and this kit accompanies him. The barber's occupation is unprofitable, inasmuch as most persons shave themselves and hair-cutting 305 [532] [522]

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. [857] Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar

462 356 [294] [296] 357 443 556

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in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralised, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no steel furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent mosque, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

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515 [388] 296 [24]

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a rice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths. [824]

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred. 296 [516]

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the homes I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *gezi*, (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *sûq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the duststorm whirls about, but there is no carpet beating. 356 412

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a constant factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either. 356 513

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The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the coolhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dug sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

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Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

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the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the woman sews in a tuck along the transverse seam. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and stops it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from brow to foot, completely hiding the dress below it. 291

Loans from Western culture. Long nightgown with puffed sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is sewn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dresses or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long arms, embroidered with spangles: Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 291 [179]

Distribution of the elements of woman's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress loans from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village aristocracy. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, shift or petticoat, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, caftan and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also skull cap, neck veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and brow cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, course silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven with metal thread, and painted nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 369 565 291 [439]

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the sheikh's home in Topzawa rolled out dough and baked in verdigris-green brocade trousers, satin petticoat of the same colour, and black tulle kirtle with patches of gold thread. She milked the goats clad in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads swathed in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed are the turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and brow cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Kirtle, shift and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which latter would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the shift also. Only the padded outer pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in colder or warmer weather. 291 [513] [296] [171]